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for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiho* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkū*. *Oyne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *oyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. This first part of the *oyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *oyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with *chicha*, which the men of the sib drink.

The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwū*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping.

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *dyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *dyne*.

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out - one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Miavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs.

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abihuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakuiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abihukú* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

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 • 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

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765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
 831 *hwinanin* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
 786 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position.
 525 Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The

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older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial conception — pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *huananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwui* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeco and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beaus. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ta tita*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampamibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death — the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals — restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

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When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises. The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

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During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

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On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers — the *noumnaparatowü* (potent penises) — come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls